

PEACE NEWS

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IN THE USA

Civil Defence arrests threat to civil liberties

'REAL POLICE POWERS EXERCISED IN A MOCK EMERGENCY'

ON June 23, the day on which the 28 arrested demonstrators in the recent New York Civil Defence protest were due to appear in court, the case was adjourned for a further week.

A. J. Muste of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation, who was among those arrested, reports below on the events which followed the arrest.

It is likely that the case may drag on for months in view of the fact that a group of civil liberties lawyers is interested in carrying it to the Supreme Court if necessary, to test the constitutionality of the New York Civil Defence Act under which the 28 were arrested.

A Defence Committee for the group has been formed. A statement issued by it reads:

"Real police powers were exercised in a mock emergency. Basic constitutional guarantees were suspended by executive decision in the absence of actual danger—and actual danger is the only criterion under American law which justifies suspension of constitutional rights. We believe that it is imperative to challenge such an invasion of civil liberties."

Pioneers of the New Africa

FIRST OF A
PEACE NEWS
SERIES by
Reginald
Reynolds

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RIOT SQUADS SURROUND COURT

By A. J. Muste

Secretary Emeritus of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation and one of the 28 arrested.

JUNE 15, 1955, is not likely to go down in history as a date comparable in importance to June 17, 1953, the day when the building workers on Stalin Allee in East Berlin walked off the job and thus gave the first impetus to a revolt against the Communist regime which spread over East Germany and into adjoining lands and demonstrated the possibility of non-violent resistance on a large scale under very adverse conditions. June 15 may nevertheless come to be a date of considerable significance for the pacifist movement in the USA. I surmise that other reports about the civil disobedience action carried through on that day may be on the way to Peace News but I should like to make my own comment.

A couple of months ago the Federal Civil Defence Authority announced that on June 15

fostered illusions. The National Council called on people not to join in such deception and to devote the day in such ways as might commend themselves to various individuals and organisations for the promotion of peace.

In New York City the Catholic Worker group, War Resisters League, FoR, and Peacemakers collaborated in a varied programme which included a service of meditation preceding the general alert, distribution of anti-war literature and a civil disobedience action in which twenty-seven individuals belonging to these groups joined. Dorothy Day and Ammon Hennacy, nationally known leaders of the Catholic worker group; Bayard Rustin and Ralph DiGlia of the WRL staff; Kent Larrabee, secretary of the New York Region FoR and the author of this letter and others of the Peacemaker group were among the participants.

Shortly before the general alert was sounded at 2.05 p.m. we proceeded to City Hall Park. We refused to move to "shelters" as all citizens had been ordered to do. The police knew before hand that some such action was planned and had the patrol wagon standing ready near by. Half a dozen or more auxiliary police (American Legionnaires) on duty for the drill closed in on us as we sat quietly meditating and announced that we were under arrest.

Followed long hours during which the men and women went through the process of being catalogued in the police station and then taken to cells in separate jails to await arraignment in Night Court.

Fantastic scene

As we were finally being lined up in front of Magistrate Kaplan at about eleven p.m. a fantastic scene was enacted. The police officer who read off our names mispronounced Hennacy's name. A couple of the young women in the Catholic Worker group laughed a bit at that point.

For understandable reasons—among them the fact that the women had had nothing to eat since noon, though an obliging officer in the jail where we men were detained sent out for coffee and sandwiches for us—the girls were excited.

The Magistrate glared in their direction and shouted: "What's funny about this?"

One of the women—a sympathiser though not a member of the Catholic Worker group—replied they were hungry and that made them "feel funny."

The Magistrate ordered her to "step up here." When she came forward and stepped up on the platform before his desk, he ordered her down. When she remonstrated, he asked if she had ever been committed to a mental institution! This was, of course, outrageous behaviour on the Magistrate's part.

When the young woman asked him if he had ever been so committed, he pronounced her in contempt of court and ordered her taken to the psychiatric ward at Bellevue Hospital for examination!

The young woman's husband was in court and at that moment rose and shouted: "You can't do this to my wife." Others were also



A. J. MUSTE

a nation-wide drill would be held and that Canada and Mexico would also join in. A vast attack in which thirty or more major cities in the country were subjected to atomic bombardment would be simulated. Government employees and thousands of volunteer Civil Defence workers would go through operations required in such a situation. In some cities evacuation of large numbers would be carried out, and so on.

At its semi-annual meeting early in May the National Council of Fellowship of Reconciliation protested that these public and highly publicised demonstrations were of negligible value in preparing the general population for abolition of war was actually the only true defence against atomic disaster such "play acting" as was proposed for June 15 simply

WILL YOU BE AT THE FOUR POWER TALKS?

You forced the politicians to hold these talks. You can force them to succeed.

By ALEX COMFORT

IT is important that you should be there. It was you who made them happen. These talks have been forced on the "Great Powers" by public opinion. By us—and if they are going to succeed, WE MUST BE THERE WHEN THEY TAKE PLACE.

Governments do not choose to settle their differences by "talks at the summit" with full publicity. When they want and intend to reach a settlement, they do it privately through the "usual channels." The "bad faith" and the "menace" of the other side, and the impossibility of negotiating with them (the excuses they use to keep us on the jump) drop out of the press overnight, and agreement is announced.

When Governments hold public talks, like those now brewing, it means that public opinion is forcing them to make at least a show of settling their differences. If we keep on forcing them, they may actually attempt to negotiate. If not, there will be those who see the conference chiefly as a way of convincing us that negotiation is useless, and rid themselves of an awkward public agitation for peace, so that we can all get on with the real business of preparing for a third, and final world war. They will go intending to fail, and then say they told you so. They know all the dodges for conference-wrecking: time limits, conditions which keep going higher and higher, walk-outs, "incidents." If we let go.

The meeting in Paris in 1951 was of this kind. On that occasion agreement was not even reached on an agenda. One might have thought that real diplomacy, intended to succeed, would have accepted the other side's agenda and then bargained from it. But this wasn't diplomacy. It was "diplomacy." The object was not to reach agreement but to avoid it, and prove to us that there was no alternative to "containment," "massive retaliation," and so on.

ISSUES ON BOTH SIDES

The meeting to discuss Indochina, in 1954, began in the same way. It was to be "diplomacy" again—followed by all-out war in the Far East.

But this time public opinion, in Britain and America, stepped in. It forced the Foreign Ministers to negotiate in earnest.

Mr. Dulles went home in a huff. But the British and French representatives stayed on and reached a just settlement of a wicked and senseless war. Public opinion had won, by a very short head.

It put just enough spine into British policy to save the day—the atomic bombs were

already on the way, they said, when peace came.

This time it looks as if, with skill and patience, they could end the "Cold War"—if they try to do so, if it is diplomacy and not "diplomacy" again.

Negotiation does not mean giving everything to the other side without question. The Communist powers, like all powers attending conferences, are coming to gain every political advantage they can. So could we, if we try.

There are quite a few things we would all of us like to raise with them—the treatment of political opponents in Eastern Europe, liberty of expression in the Press, the right of some of the satellite countries to choose their form of government by a free vote. And there are a number of things they will raise with us—the bomber bases disposed in a circle round their territory, for instance, the banning of atomic weapons; if we mention civil liberties, we may have to answer questions about Kenya or British Guiana or Guatemala.

ROOM FOR NEGOTIATION

If we mention the Cominform, they may mention the millions of dollars spent in financing sabotage in Eastern Europe.

They want to prevent German rearmament and see China admitted to UNO. So do almost all sane Europeans. There is plenty to negotiate with, if we negotiate. And plenty for the West to gain.

Negotiation doesn't mean surrender. But neither does it mean reading prepared statements and refusing to discuss a comma in them.

It does not mean, for example, using the fact that German rearmament just squeezed past public opposition to say that it isn't open to discussion. It doesn't mean demanding "unconditional surrender" and expecting the Communists to lie down and die.

Above all, it does not mean deliberately wrecking the conference to prove that there is no alternative to war in the end. At least one member of the conference will be under great pressure to do just that. The lunatic fringe of

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No H-bombs for Britain: Organisations unite for new campaign

"WE SHALL EMERGE SUCCESSFUL"—Victor Yates, MP

THE National Peace Council is to launch a nation-wide campaign to urge on the British Government a policy of unilateral renunciation of the manufacture of the H-bomb.

The Council, which affiliates all the British pacifist organisations, Co-operative Women's Guild, Quaker peace bodies, many peace councils, trade unions and other groups, made this decision at a meeting in the House of Commons noteworthy for the unity and enthusiasm among the very diverse political and religious bodies represented.

Victor Yates, MP, after an impassioned plea for a united campaign declared that

protesting. The police carried the screaming girl out; others hustled the husband away. The Magistrate then ordered court recessed for ten minutes.

During this interval—whether he was under the influence of the hysteria of the day and jittery or because he wished deliberately to provoke a situation to discredit pacifists and make them seem riotous—he ordered several police riot squads to occupy and surround the building, cleared the courts, and practically placed the building in a state of siege. It just occurs to me as I write this that he may have been wanting to picture how under martial law under conditions of actual war a patriotic officer would "take no chances" with non-co-operators.

This was certainly his disposition when we were finally ushered back into the court room at midnight and formally arraigned, charged with disorderly conduct under the State Civil Defence Emergency Act.

In a short speech which he had written out and read, the Magistrate said three million or more people had been "killed" in the H-bomb attack on New York in the afternoon and we were their "murderers."

He continued to follow this line and then

□ ON PAGE TWO

the Council would have the support of very many members of the new Parliament.

"We want everybody in this," he declared. "It is the most important work the Council has yet undertaken. We shall emerge successful."

With no dissenting votes the meeting called for a special Campaign Committee to draw up plans and report to the Council.

Among the many influential organisations represented at the meeting were:

The Labour Peace Fellowship, The Peace Pledge Union, The Fellowship of Reconciliation, The Methodist Peace Fellowship, The Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, The Peace Committee of the Society of Friends, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Common Wealth, The Crusade for World Government, Women's Co-operative Guild, and the Union of Democratic Control.

GREEN LIGHT FOR CAMPAIGN

Representatives of some of the religious and educational bodies affiliated to the Council, because of the nature of their work could not commit their organisations to the campaign. They nevertheless indicated that they did not wish to stand in the way of the Council going ahead with the proposals backed by a large and enthusiastic majority.

Previously the Council has had to work through ad hoc bodies which it has set up—such as the Peace With China Council. Now it has the green light to launch a major nation-wide campaign in its own name.

The Council was founded over forty years ago. It has no Communist or United Nations bodies affiliated to it. Its President is Lord Boyd Orr.

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'Tis the business of little minds to shrink, but he whose heart is firm, and whose conscience approves his conduct, will pursue his principles unto death.

—THOMAS PAINE

PACIFISTS AND POLITICS

THERE is much self-examination going on in the pacifist movement today as to the most effective means by which pacifist principles may be forwarded in Parliamentary elections.

We welcome this discussion which we believe to be very necessary if pacifists are to find a way of making their influence felt and enlisting the large degree of half-formed support for their views that exists today.

What we should like to do in this article is to plead with those who express their pacifism through support of the Labour Party, to face certain issues that we feel they are seeking to evade.

Some of our correspondents suggest that those who have renounced war are under an obligation to regard the Labour Party as their political party. This, of course, is not so.

There are many pacifists who—independently of their assessment of the value of the Labour Party on a pacifist evaluation—do not share the objectives of that Party; and the pacifist who is a member of the Labour Party is not entitled to assume that others who are opposed to trends in Labour Party policy have no business to be so opposed.

The social and economic objectives of the Labour Party are by no means required doctrine for pacifists.

Nevertheless the inclination of many pacifists to regard the Labour Party as their Party is understandable. Behind the Labour Party there is a tradition that, although not necessarily pacifist, used to find expression in a strong anti-militarist spirit, opposition to the idea of conscription, opposition to inflated armaments and the conception of securing peace by preparing for war, and a keen internationalist sentiment.

It must be regretfully admitted that this tradition is not operative today, and on all these issues the Labour Party now takes an opposite attitude; it supports policies in this field that are indistinguishable from those of the Conservatives.

While the tradition of the Labour Party in this field no longer obtains, the pacifist in the Labour Party can urge that it nevertheless has been a tradition over a long period and there is hope in working for a return to it. He is also able to urge, with justice, that pacifists are tolerated in the Parliamentary Party. Whether a minority of pacifists might be tolerated in the Conservative or Liberal Parties is a matter that might be argued, but they are certainly never found on the benches of the House.

It is true that Labour Party pacifists are only tolerated on terms. Their disagreement with present Party policy is recognised and it may be expressed in the House in certain limited ways. It may be voiced in speeches and it may be expressed in the vote, not by a vote that conflicts with the decisions registered through the Party machinery but by abstention. There can be an occasional defiance in this respect depending upon the Member's conception as to how far an undertaking of honour has been given in the obligatory acceptance of the standing orders upon which the Party discipline is based. Mr. J. H. Hudson has held that the undertaking he was required to give debarred him from defying the Party whip; others take a different view.

In addition to these activities in the House the pacifist is able to urge his views in the Party meeting, and he is of course able to exercise what influence is open to him through the local Labour Party machinery.

Since the Labour Party moved over to the support of conscription there has been a good deal of room for discussion as to whether it still provides a suitable political instrument for the expression of pacifist views, but it has been possible to maintain with some force that of the three parties holding seats in the House of Commons it offered the best opportunities.

With the manufacture of A-bombs and H-bombs and the tremendous sense of urgency and moral challenge that these things bring there has developed a great need for a review of previous attitudes, and here we are troubled by what seems to us to be a certain incapacity among some of our correspondents to perceive vital facts of the present situation.

First, there is the refusal to accept that the existence of nuclear weapons presents any new problem for the pacifist in Parliament. We have had it seriously put to us that because the pacifist has been willing to compromise on conventional arms—i.e. while he will not vote against the arms estimates he will equally not vote for them—the same principle can apply in regard to the H-bomb: while he accepts that he must not vote against its manufacture, he will not vote for it; he will abstain. There is no difference in principle we are told. It is just a question of magnitude.

We believe that there is a profound difference in principle and one that makes mere abstention for the pacifist in this connection really inconceivable.

The acceptance of the H-bomb means the deliberate acceptance for the first time of the method of indiscriminate slaughter—of children as well as adults—as THE method of warfare; and to argue that there is no essential difference between what is done here and the sending out of soldiers with guns to fight with other soldiers with guns bespeaks a moral obtuseness that we do not really believe exists among pacifists.

We believe then that the H-bomb poses the issue of individual responsibility in a way that it has never been presented before. This brings us to a second point upon which we feel that a number of our critics are darkening counsel. They condemn us because we have supported one who only opposed the H-bomb while we have been lukewarm in our support for others who opposed not only the H-bomb but all arms.

We find it difficult to believe that these critics could not perceive the tremendous moral importance of what Sir Richard Acland was doing. He had announced his intention of voting in the House against the manufacture of the H-bomb.

When he resigned his seat he was the only man in the country who had proclaimed such an intention. No other member of the House was ready to do such a thing.

When the General Election was fought there was no one among the pacifists in the House who was ready to proclaim a similar intention.

We appreciate and are grateful for all the work the pacifist members of the Labour Party do for our cause within the Party limits that they have to accept. We believe however that an acceptance of H-bomb warfare through abstention on the vote is not the best way of furthering an understanding of the pacifist case in the public mind. We believe it to be our duty to support anyone who will replace abstention by a vote against. We shall naturally be more wholeheartedly behind any pacifist who does this, but if pacifists will not do it and any non-pacifists will, on this issue we shall be behind these non-pacifists.

We are ready to have it argued that this is a wrong policy; but do please let us recognise that it is a real and vital issue that is involved.

Bertrand Russell repeats his plan

BERTRAND RUSSELL has again propounded his plan for creating a climate of peace in the world, this time in a letter to the World Assembly of Peace at Helsinki.

He wants an examination by a group of distinguished scientists of the effect upon the world of an atomic war and the setting out of their conclusions in a plain statement.

On the basis of this he wants a number of uncommitted governments to secure a statement from the remaining governments on both sides in the power struggle that they recognise that it is now impossible to secure their aims by war.

This would secure a temporary cessation of the cold war during which steps might be taken to create a climate of peace by the diminution of national armaments, the restoration of freedom of travel and freedom in the circulation of books and newspapers.

In the new and more hopeful atmosphere thus developed a World Conference should be called which would create ways other than war by means of which disagreements between states could be settled.

Since Lord Russell first propounded this plan there are certain essential aspects of it that are beginning to operate.

It is true that there has been no formal examination by a group of scientists of what would be the consequences of nuclear warfare. All the governments well know now, however, that it will mean general catastrophe for the present and future generations and that if humanity is to continue somehow war has to be avoided.

A formal report by international scientists on the subject would not add much to their knowledge although it would, of course, make it impossible to carry through such nonsense as the recent American H-bomb raid exercises.

It is this realisation that is already registered in the belated agreement to enter upon Four-Power talks.

There is a recognisable disposition to treat the present position in the power struggle as a position of stalemate. This acceptance of stalemate has already been expressed at the Geneva meeting on Indo-China and in the recent cessation of war talk on both sides in regard to Formosa.

What may be looked for at the July meeting of the Powers is a similar recognition in regard to Europe. Following this the world has to face the test as to whether it is capable of using this stalemate period to create the will to put through the very radical adjustments in economic relationships between nations that will make peace possible.

As for the steps to provide the "Climate for Peace" urged by Lord Russell, these are already on the agenda or are in process of development. A small beginning is being made, even behind the Iron Curtain in regard to freedom of travel and there is also some tendency to permit a freer traffic in exchange of opinion; while the last modification of the Russian disarmament proposals to meet the objections so long urged by the west is a considerable step towards Lord Russell's other desideratum. Lord Russell by the way, deprecated mere "ban the bomb" propaganda as being unrealistic.

Conscientious objectors in Eastern Europe

WE are glad to learn from Charles Marland (page one) that the World Assembly of Peace has discussed in one of the Commissions a declaration calling upon all governments to recognise the right of men to refuse military service on grounds of conscience.

We shall be interested to learn if this is endorsed by the Assembly.

Much as we shall welcome a declaration, however, this recognition legislatively of the rights of conscience, desirable as it is, is not the issue with which as pacifists we are most concerned. There is no recognition of such rights of conscience in either France or Belgium. War resisters in those countries

BEHIND THE NEWS

are thus punished by imprisonment much more generally than they are in Britain or America, where exemption is provided in a proportion of the cases. We can nevertheless receive information about war resisters in both France and Belgium, and this is what is lacking in the countries of Eastern Europe.

Even more than the formal recognition of the right of conscientious objection we should value the freedom of speech which enables pacifists to express their views and let those who think like them in other lands have information about them.

Dulles carries on cold war

IT is not to approve of the whole content of the speech of Mr. Molotov to the United Nations during the Tenth Anniversary Celebrations at San Francisco to say that it was in very sharp contrast with that of Mr. John Foster Dulles, the US Secretary of State.

Mr. Molotov was conspicuously conciliatory, in harmony with what has been the attitude of Russia in recent international dealings.

There is only one moral to be drawn from this by Mr. Dulles. It is the justification of the policy of "negotiation from strength," and the conclusion to be drawn as a guide for future action is that more strength in the West will bring more conciliation from the East.

What is striking throughout the speech of Mr. Dulles is the absence of the slightest capacity for human charity. The conspicuous change in the Russian attitude is for Mr. Dulles capable of one explanation only: the West has added to its power; Russia has begun to tremble and retreat. Let the West add to its power still further and Russia will retreat still further.

There is no suggestion that Russia like the rest of the world may now be facing the grim fact that further additions to power and the possibility of bringing that power into action threatens the human race with extinction; and there is of course no slightest suggestion either that the change in regime in Russia can conceivably have had anything to do with the change in the Russian outlook.

It is not counted to the Russian leaders for righteousness that they seem to be ridding themselves of the more monstrous aspects of Stalinism. There is nothing but self-righteous self-congratulation that under the guidance of the United States the West is winning the cold war.

We do not overlook the fact that Mr. Dulles has to reckon with the more jingoistic elements in the Republican Party and that his speech has to take account of their views. He meets these views, however, with such nauseating unctious that it is clear that these are his own people.

If and when President Eisenhower finds it possible to replace Mr. Dulles in the office of Secretary of State he may offend some big business interests in his own Party, but his action will be applauded among the uncommitted peoples of the world.

Operation Alert

TO anybody who gives two minutes thought to the implications of the US-Canada-Mexico CD exercise, Operation Alert, what is involved is so staggering that the possibility of any genuine defence by means of shelters or evacuation, were 61 cities attacked with nuclear weapons is seen to be transparently absurd.

case of a simulated war situation in depriving citizens of their freedom to witness and protest peacefully under compulsion of conscience? Does the government in effect have the right to decree a state of martial law in time of peace?

Some of the "boners" pulled by the Government in a situation where there was a lot of improvisation helped to arouse doubts about the Civil Defence programme in the minds of many citizens. Perhaps the outstanding illustration is the indignation among millions of farmers over a Department of Agriculture "order" suspending all acreage restrictions and market quotas, at a time of surpluses costing the Federal Government a million dollars a day for storage, without making it clear that this also was only a bit of play acting.

The fact that Eisenhower used his speech to the nation at the conclusion of his three-day sojourn in a "hide-out" to urge everybody to pressure Congress to adopt the Administration's Reserve Forces Bill, which is Universal Military Training only slightly disguised, gives strong support to the pacifist contention that the major aspect of the demonstration was its contribution to war preparation.

With evacuation from the cities it would be impossible for the surviving portions of the populations to return while the war continued. Where there was resort to shelters it would be impossible for the shelters to be evacuated for days or weeks—and possibly for months—because of the danger from radioactive activity. In either case the economic life of the United States would break down in chaos. This is to leave out of account the contamination of the greater part of the food and water supplies.

Mr. Walter Lippman hints that the real purpose of Operation Alert may have been to demonstrate that there could not be any civil defence in modern warfare in order to destroy the opposition that is beginning to develop again in part of the American press to any genuine attempt to make peace in the coming negotiations at Geneva.

He also suggests that the emphasis that certain of the Russian military leaders have recently been placing upon the possibility and danger of a surprise H-bomb attack as the opening move in a war and the Russian capacity to meet such attacks and even to anticipate them may have been similarly directed to certain circles in the Russian government class and in the army.

White superiority demonstrated

THE African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, the South African Congress of Democrats and the Coloured Peoples Organisation had arranged for last week-end the African Congress of People, meeting in the open air at Kliptown outside Johannesburg.

The Congress was not forbidden by the Government. Instead action was taken to make the ordered conduct of the Congress impossible.

Police stopped delegates on their way to the Congress. Some were arrested. Lorryloads of Africans were stopped under the Road Transport Act. Nevertheless, according to newspaper reports, some 2,000 people were present last Saturday, and about 3,000 on Sunday.

Special Branch policemen were present scrutinising the people on the platform through binoculars, taking photographs of those present, and recording speeches. This kind of attention was troublesome for the Congress but was not sufficient to stop the proceedings, so on the Sunday morning thorough interference was contrived. Two hundred policemen surrounded the meeting, it was announced that there would be a search for subversive and inflammatory documents, papers were seized, and the police proceeded to take the names of those present. By these means they made the continuance of the business of the Congress impossible and brought the proceedings to an end.

There is no doubt, of course, that the Congress was subversive! It proposed to make a number of declarations of principle along the lines of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights.

Kenya Africans to be organised

THE Kenya Government has decided to withdraw its ban on political organisation among native Africans. This does not mean that Africans are to be able once again to set up their own organisation, a new Kenya African Union.

District organisations only are to be permitted, but it is anticipated that there may later be conventions of district associations in each African representative area. Later still there may be a central convention.

Mr. E. W. Mathu, accepted by the Whites as an African representative, expressed the hope that there will be no undue pressure upon these organisations after they have been duly registered as approved bodies, and that they will be permitted free expression. Surely the whole point of their being brought into existence, however, under Government tutelage is to ensure that free expression shall stop short of the voicing of aspirations toward democratic self-government.

I believe that the pacifist demonstration of the coming trial will give us an opportunity such as we have not had for some time to expound pacifist views to an attentive audience of large proportions.

Let us, in this connection, not forget the opportunity which will be presented by the Tenth Anniversary of Hiroshima on August 6. Representatives of the four pacifist organisations which sponsored the civil disobedience demonstration are about to confer on the strategy of the coming trial and already the American Friends Service Committee, the Women's International League, the N.Y. Civil Liberties Union, and the Workers' Defence League have expressed interest and in the case of the first two all-out support.

PS. Two illustrations of favourable developments which have already occurred. The young woman committed to Bellevue, Judith Beck, is already out on bail set at only \$500. A former judge, now in private practice, represented her in court at her parents' request and denounced the magistrate who set the high bail for the rest of us. Secondly, The New York Times has published an understanding article about the pacifist position and the reason for our action.

A. J. MUSTE

FROM PAGE ONE

placed us under bail of \$1500.00 each! Twenty-five dollars is usual for misdemeanor cases, especially those involving persons acting from principle as we were doing. A hundred dollars would have been considered very high. Fifteen hundred was fantastic.

Naturally, we had no such bail ready, so we all spent at least twenty-four hours in prison, the men in the Tombs, the women in another place. But one of the indications of the interest aroused by our demonstration for conscience sake and the Magistrate's behaviour is that the whole of the nearly \$45,000 needed, most of it in actual cash, was obtained with comparatively little effort.

An important civil liberties issue

There are informed persons, including attorneys, who are of the opinion that this may be a situation which raises an important civil liberties issue under the First Amendment to the Constitution and that the matter ought, if necessary, be carried to the Supreme Court. The issue may be stated in some such way as this: How far can a government go in the

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RELIGIOUS NEWS AND VIEWS Methodists to think again

"All frank discussions by Christian people of international affairs bring us very quickly face to face with the political, social and moral problems posed by the H-bomb."

SUCH is the judgment of the Department of Christian Citizenship of the Methodist Church in Britain, and as a result the forthcoming Methodist Conference is to be asked to appoint a fully representative committee to consider the whole question of the Christian teaching about war in the light of the present situation.

Another resolution welcomes the easing of tension and suggests lines of action to be followed by governments to implement the Peace Policy which was approved by the 1954 Conference.

"Agonising dilemma"

The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland has been dealing with the problem of peace and disarmament.

One member raised the old bogey of Communist domination as the inevitable result of unilateral disarmament by Britain, adding that he had lived for two years under the Red Flag and would rather be dead than live under it for another year.

The Church and Nation Committee shared the view of the Archbishop of York that the manufacture of the H-bomb puts Christians in an "agonising dilemma." Yet the Committee offered no solution, being content to stress the danger in the piling up of armaments.

Sad to relate, an amendment advocating unilateral disarmament and criticising the view that peace should be maintained through deterrents was overwhelmingly defeated.

Not "the whole hog"

In the meantime, the British Weekly reports that prohibition of all weapons of mass destruction was urged by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in America, in approving the appeal of the World Council of Churches adopted at Evanston.

The World Council had asked for a ban on such weapons "with provision for international inspection and control, such as would safeguard the security of all nations, together with the drastic reduction of all other armaments."

Although this item is reported under a banner heading, "USA Presbyterians Go the Whole Hog," neither the World Council nor the Presbyterians have gone on record as renouncing war under any circumstances.

This is the first of a series of monthly news commentaries by STUART MORRIS

News from readers of peace activities within their church and denomination will be welcome. Letters should be addressed to Peace News (The Church and Peace), 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

Banning nuclear weapons is not enough and the demand for international inspection and control is now quite out of date politically, if it was ever appropriate in Christian thinking.

Christians should not be thinking in terms of "safeguards to security" but should remember that only those who are prepared to forego the demand for security can save their lives, and that their purpose is to seek the Kingdom of God and His righteousness.

Support for CO's

The discussion of a resolution on the production of weapons of mass destruction caused a clash between pacifists and non-pacifists in the Annual Assembly of the Congregational Union.

The resolution, while recognising the tragic dilemma facing governments, affirmed the conviction that the manufacture and use of weapons of mass destruction was contrary to the purpose of God and the mind of Christ.

The mover concluded his speech "If we send forth a resolution saying 'Ban the H-bomb' we shall be described as unrealistic. If we approve it we shall be described as un-Christian." The Assembly preferred the former, only a few voting against the resolution.

The Assembly also passed a resolution urging the Government to amend the National Service Act, so that a man who genuinely acquired pacifist convictions at any time during his liability to recall to service, might be able to register as a C.O.

Voice from Russia

So far as we know the publication in the British Weekly of an article by Alexander Karev, General Secretary of the All-Soviet Union of Evangelical Christian Baptists, marks the first appearance in print in a British paper of a responsible Russian Christian leader.

The article is a plea for negotiation instead of war, and states that the task of Christians in establishing peace on earth is "above all to consider war as the greatest crime against God and to reject it for ever as a way of solving disputed issues."

He stresses the sad feature of the division in the Christian world between pacifists and non-pacifists, but suggests that the recognition of negotiations as a more reasonable way of settling disputes than war would provide a common meeting ground.

It is noteworthy that Karev nowhere suggests that Russian Christians have renounced war, even a defensive war, and it is doubtful whether he would have been allowed to publish his article if he had done so, or if he had not included within it a commendation of the World Peace Council Conference at Helsinki.

Acland, Murumbi, Muste, for Third Camp Conference

AN ALTERNATIVE TO MILITARY ALLIANCES

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

SIR RICHARD ACLAND, ex-Labour M.P. who resigned his seat to fight his constituency at Gravesend as a "No H-Bomb" candidate, will be among the main speakers at an international conference of the Third Way movement to be held in London this September.

Others will be A. J. Muste, leading figure of the American pacifist movement and one of the founders of the Third Way, and Joseph Murumbi, one-time secretary of the banned Kenya African Union, now assistant secretary of the Movement for Colonial Freedom. It is also hoped that Asoka Mehta, leader of the Praja Socialist Party of India, will be present.

Other outstanding personalities will be Professor Lo Meng-tse, founder of the Chu Lieu Society of China, from Hong Kong, and Bayard Rustin, Executive Secretary of the War Resisters' League of America, well-known for his non-violent opposition to racial discrimination.

The conference which will last from Saturday morning, September 3, to Tuesday evening, September 6, will be held at Kings College Hostel, Champion Hill, Denmark Hill, London, S.E.5. Organisations from all over the world are being invited to help thrash out a common programme of action on the basis of non-support for the war preparations of either side in the cold war or any alternative military alliance.

Organisations which have so far promised to be represented include the Peace Pledge Union, the War Resisters' League, the Third Camp Contact Committee of USA (representing several organisations); the Independent Labour Party, the Common Wealth Party; Derde Weg of Holland, Peacemakers of the USA; the British Third Way group and the recently-formed World Socialist Movement founded by Prof. G. D. H. Cole. The conference arises from previous gatherings which have discussed the Third Way idea, among them the triennial conference of War

Resisters International in Paris last year, and a holiday conference near Amsterdam at Christmas.

In a Call to the conference, the organisers say:

"Millions of people everywhere now realise that peace and security for mankind cannot be achieved through the policy of military blocs. These people are looking for some expression of their viewpoint. The Third Way movement provides it."

"In Europe, America, Asia and Africa, there are organisations which have for some time advocated no support for the war preparations of either the eastern or the western blocs; they have also sought to develop political and economic programmes that reject both capitalism and Communist totalitarianism. Some of these organisations have met and discovered a good deal of common ground and mutual encouragement. It is now suggested that there should be an international conference to establish closer contact and exchange views."

Subjects covered at the conference will be: the basic conception of the Third Way; the war on want; colonial liberation; a Third Way political and economic policy, and the future organisation of the movement.

Organisations and persons interested should write to: The Conference Secretary, Third Way, 12 High Street, London, N.W.3.

Democracy in Central Africa RAN SCHOOL FOR AFRICANS: FINED £5

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

EVIDENCE of the increasingly repressive character of government in Central Africa is provided by two recent reports.

In an announcement on June 17, Peace News stated that Mrs. G. G. Coleman of Bulawayo, founder of the Bulawayo Interracial Club, the African Eisteddfod, the Alpha African School and the African Little Theatre, had been named as a candidate in the by-election for the European Representative of the African Community in the Federal Parliament.

The Government Party (the Federal Party), first approached the African Community and asked them to form what was called a "Truce Committee" and select candidates. This was done, and three persons were proposed—two men in the Salisbury (Mashonaland) area, and Mrs. Coleman in Matabeleland.

Much trouble was taken by the Africans in this matter, but then the Government apparently changed its mind and decided to "appoint" its own choice, a man not chosen by the Africans, and hardly known to them.

It was not possible for Mrs. Coleman to stand as an independent.

An African, Leonard Chirwa, has been fined £5 by the Broken Hill (Northern Rhodesia) Magistrate for running an unauthorised school

MIDSUMMER MONEY

GO OUT into the country any one of these fine days that we get every other month or so in the British summer and look around. It seems absurd that in a world so green and lovely, and occasionally warm, that men spend their thoughts and energies on war and preparation for it. And so it is.



But this summer seems to have got under the statesmen's skins. In San Francisco there has been more optimism, more talk of good will and a bit more sincerity than we have heard for years. The mood is changing from one of near despair to one of hope and possibility. How do you translate hope into possibility and possibility into fact?

You do it by encouragement. Take hold of all the good ideas coming out of this new mood—progress towards disarmament; help for needy countries; a more representative UN; less aggressive propaganda; support for the Bandung nations' stand; the ending of political and military infiltration—take hold of them and "plug" them; encourage people to believe that the objectives they move towards are possible and that we shall get there quicker if we lead the statesmen instead of being led by them. A bold, imaginative popular demand for peace and the things that make for peace could take advantage of this change in tune and use it to magnificent effect.

And one of the best ways of doing it is to get more people in more countries to read Peace News. Every contribution to Peace News Fund helps to do this. Have we had your Midsummer Money yet?

TOM WARDLE.

Contributions since June 17 : £17 13s. 0d.
Total since Jan. 1, 1955 : £962 14s. 4d.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News Ltd., and address them to Lady Clare Annesley, Joint Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.



Three of the four in this group will meet again in London at the Third Way Conference in September.

The photo was taken at the 32nd annual dinner of the War Resisters' League of New York. Seated from left to right are A. J. Muste of the League's Executive Committee; Bayard Rustin, the League's secretary; Roy Finch, Chairman; and Tom Wardle of Peace News staff who was in the US on a lecture tour.

A. J. Muste and Bayard Rustin will be coming to England—subject to the result of the Civil Defence case reported on page one.

PEOPLE AND PLACES

Churches and war bonds

THE question of church investments in war bonds, about which I wrote a fortnight ago, is an issue in the North of England too.

The Rev. R. Davies, of Clayton-le-Moors, near Blackburn, told the annual assembly of Lancashire and Cheshire Baptists last month that he felt there should be no "blood on the hands of the Association."

It was wrong to allow church money to be used for making armaments.

He had had money invested in war savings and war stocks, but when he came to realise that he might be contributing to the death of others, he withdrew all his capital.

After Mr. Davies' appeal, the assembly decided to consider in committee the question of whether their war stocks should be sold and the capital re-invested in other ways.

There must be some forthright folk among these Northern Baptists. The Rev. H. L. Watson, in his annual report to the assembly as general superintendent and secretary, said that while the H-bomb might be viewed with favour for military or political purposes, there was nothing favourable from a Christian standpoint.

Such means of wholesale destruction, of the annihilation of great masses of people, shocked the ideals for which Christians stood.

MPs' maiden speeches

BY tradition, maiden speeches in the House of Commons are non-controversial.

Frank Allaun, new member for Salford East and a frequent contributor to Peace News, rose in the House for the first time on June 14.

He spoke about the conditions under which lorry drivers on our trunk roads have to work, and also of the appalling state of many of the houses in the city he represents.

"Recently," he told the House, "a house collapsed on a 79-year-old bedridden widow. Miraculously she was brought out unhurt. It so happens that a moment before the roof collapsed the rent collector was at the door, and he jumped clear in time. Incredible as it may seem, five minutes later,

after the dust had settled, he nipped back and calmly collected the 10s. 1d. rent from a member of the family. I know that because I was there half an hour later, and I saw the 10s. 1d. marked in the rent book."

John Eden (Cons., Bournemouth West, and nephew of Anthony), who followed, offered the (also traditional) congratulations of the House to the new MP and said how much he admired Frank Allaun's ability to speak without any notes.

Another maiden speech from a new "peace MP" followed; from Mrs. Joyce Butler (Lab., Wood Green).

Only recently have I learned that she is a member of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, whose officers are delighted at having a representative in the House.

She too spoke on housing. Frank Allaun is 42, is a journalist and a Chartered Accountant and was educated at the four-centuries-old Manchester Grammar School.

Joyce Butler is 43, a housewife and a member of the Co-operative Party.

His wife gave a lead

WHILE on the subject of new recruits, I see that Mr. Hallam Barnes, defeated Labour candidate for New Forest said that he was persuaded by his wife to introduce the H-bomb issue into his campaign.

"She has joined the Peace Pledge Union. She is prepared to devote the rest of her life to the fight against war," he told a meeting.

Russian journey

ALEC HORSLEY, Hull's Quaker Sheriff, who accompanied Dr. Soper, Canon Raven and other Christian pacifists to Moscow last winter has written an interesting account of the trip (Russian Journey, 1s., from 287 Beverley Road, Hull, or from Housmans Bookshop).

It is not all Metro and Moscow University. "I have not sought to hide my disagreements nor have I eliminated the adverse

comments which I made on the spur of the moment, sometimes, perhaps, unjustly," he says in a foreword in which he pays tribute to the kindness and generosity with which the delegation were surrounded.

While there, he met Arthur Watts, 1914-18 war CO and Quaker, who went to Russia on relief work immediately on his release from prison. Watts has been in the Soviet Union ever since (except for a few years abroad in the twenties) working as an engineer.

Now suffering from arthritis, he has retired, spending five months of the year on his fruit farm near Zagorsk.

"He was full of greetings for his family and old pacifist friends and clearly enjoyed his talks with Raven, Cunningham and Soper," Alec Horsley writes. "He was as enthusiastic as ever about the regime, and said that he could never go back to a capitalist system where one worked for profit."

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Pioneers of the new Africa—1.**ROBIN HODGKIN**
of Bakht er Ruda
By REGINALD REYNOLDS

● Two years ago Reginald Reynolds travelled the length of Africa to find out for himself what was happening in that turbulent continent.

This year saw the publication of his findings in a book, "Beware of Africans" (Jarrolds, 18s.).

His journey provided unique opportunities for meeting, and hearing about, many of the men and women who are helping Africa towards the goal of independence and freedom from white supremacy and exploitation.

Peace News has asked Reginald Reynolds to write about these pioneer workers in this new series of profiles.

THE Institute of Education at Bakht er Ruda supplies male teachers for most of the vast country known as the Sudan. It lies about 120 miles south of Khartoum, connected by neither road nor railway. One travels the entire distance over a prairie, dry and dusty except in the rainy season, and I made this journey in a pick-up, sent by Robin Hodgkin, the Principal of the Institute.

My journey ended with a ferry across the White Nile, and as I landed on the pontoon Robin was waiting for me—a man with shrewd, kindly eyes who gave an impression of wiry strength. As we shook hands I remembered suddenly what I had heard about him, he had lost most of his fingers and toes by frost-bite in a mountaineering expedition.

Somebody told me later that there was a man who served for a whole term on Robin's staff before he noticed this fact about his Chief. This is believable, because I know nobody who makes less of a serious disability (as most of us would regard it). There is nothing awkward in any of his movements and he makes two fingers do the work of ten. The unfortunate expedition was made in 1938, when Robin was in his early twenties, and it did not deter him from taking part in three subsequent ones.

For the kind of pioneering that is needed today in Africa toughness and courage are not enough, but they are still essential. Robin Hodgkin has a fortunate combination of qualities and a variety of interests which are worth noting. By birth and conviction a Quaker, he is deeply interested in religion. After leaving Leighton Park School, he specialised at Oxford in geography and was lecturing on this subject at Khartoum, before he was appointed Principal of the Institute of Education, in 1949. His other interests range from sailing, riding and Rugby football to music, philosophy and children's books.

AT Bakht er Ruda Robin Hodgkin succeeded the original Principal, V. L. Griffiths, under whose guidance the Institute had been founded in 1934. From the beginning there had been a difficult problem to face: what sort of education should be offered? Some said it must be a system of education modelled roughly on that of England; and this "academic" education was favoured, generally, by the educated Sudanese. On the other hand, many thought that something more on the lines of what is now called "basic" or "fundamental" education would be better. This would mean an attempt to relate education closely to the need for better cultivation and stock breeding, improved village hygiene and all the urgent requirements of rural life in the Sudan.

The problem is not as simple as it may appear at first sight, especially if one takes



Abdel Halim Ef. Hamid, teacher at the White Nile Intermediate School, explains to a pupil about a diseased leaf in a cotton plant. PHOTO: R. A. HODGKIN

the view that education should meet an existing demand, so far as possible, rather than attempting to dictate one. Griffiths, in his account of the Institute (AN EXPERIMENT IN EDUCATION), explains the many complications. They attempted a compromise, hoping, he says, "that gradually a general interest, and eventually an enthusiasm for rural studies and activities, would spread throughout the staff and pupils."

When Robin Hodgkin succeeded V. L. Griffiths he inherited, therefore, a tradition of



Robin Hodgkin with the Prime Minister of Sudan, Sayed Ismail El Azhari.

inevitable compromise. He also took over an institution which was attempting to do many things at the same time. Its first responsibility was to train teachers, but it also ran refresher courses, sent out inspectors of schools and devised new text books. It had continued, from the beginning, to be a place of experiment, and in my conversations with Robin I was continually impressed by the feeling that every activity was regarded in this way. I don't remember my host ever professing to have found the solution to anything at all: the most he would claim was that a particular experiment was—so far—giving reasonably satisfactory results.

THE Institute consists not merely of a college, but of a whole group of schools and colleges, with a staff of over a hundred, of whom ten were British, when I visited the place two years ago; but with rapid "Sudanisation," under Sudanese self-government, the number of British citizens employed is being reduced in all departments. As the Institute is bound to play a very important part in the independent Sudan of the future, it is of some value to glance for a moment at the place itself and at one of the men who helped to build it.

There are some 1,500 students at Bakht er Ruda and it would be impossible to generalise briefly about their numerous activities. To me the most interesting aspect of the place was the still unsolved problem of creating the right kind of interest among the students, in agriculture and the basic needs of the country. When I arrived, in the Spring of 1953, Robin Hodgkin was facing what appeared to be failure on this front; but following the "trial and error" tradition of the Institute he was already planning a new approach. One difficulty arose from the fact that an interest in farming could be created

among the students by means of a cash incentive; but the cash incentive, very naturally, was not conducive to the best educational use being made of the experience. Eighteen months later Robin wrote to me that in one of their Schools, the White Nile Intermediate, they were cutting down the cash motive and trying to increase the educational content in the farm work. He was not looking for quick results: only patience and humility bring results in a situation of this sort.

SO much depends on the success of an experiment of this kind. Are the teachers and the educated Sudanese to be a class apart, unconcerned with crops and livestock and basic human needs? Are the cleverest people all to go to the towns? Is there to be the old exploitation of the countryside by the townsman? It would have been easy to oppose these tendencies—as easy, and as futile as putting up a wall round China. The real problem was not so much, in fact, what ought to be done, but how to make students see that it was desirable. I was impetuous myself about such things when I arrived at Bakht er Ruda, but I left the place hesitant and reflective. It was less simple than I had imagined.

This Spring Robin's job was "Sudanised" and he returned to England. He is one of those who have left with the affection and gratitude of many Sudanese. Race relations in the Sudan have been in many respects a model to the rest of Africa; but in his personal relations with Sudanese students and colleagues I think Robin Hodgkin was an outstanding success, even in a country where the "colour bar" has been almost unknown.

Reginald Reynolds' second article, on Alec Dickson of Man-of-War Bay, will appear on July 15.

A NEW RADICAL PARTY FOR BRITAIN?

ONE is inevitably asked: "Why not work inside one of the main parties? Pacifism—or renunciation of the H-bomb—cannot be a substitute for a programme. If your candidate is elected, he will be alone in Parliament. Even on matters involving pacifism, he will be powerless. On all other issues, he will have no choice but to ally himself with one party or another. If he is not elected, his votes will most probably come from that one of his opponents whose views you least dislike—and that will actually strengthen the Parliamentary forces ranged against you."

I believe that there is here a fundamental failure to recognise the needs and nature of Parliamentary democracy which, unfortunately, is by no means confined to non-pacifists.

The "main party" generally thought of in this context is, of course, the Labour Party. Many pacifists, even when they are not members of it, feel a deep sense of loyalty to the Labour Party, which goes far beyond rational considerations. Labour MPs have always included pacifists. A number of pacifists were officially sponsored Labour candidates in the recent election. Would it not be better to seek to increase the number of these who, once elected, will constitute part of at least the official Opposition, if not of the forces of Government itself?

Until quite recently I would have accepted this view. The growing intolerance of heterodoxy in the Labour Party has now not merely driven me to resign as an individual member, but has forced me to the view that the Labour Party—partly because of its emotional appeal to socialists and libertarians of all kinds and the danger that they may thereby be blinded to the effect of its policies—must be opposed no less than the others.

The process which began with the expulsion of Zilliacus and Pritt and the proscribing of an ever-lengthening list of organisations led inevitably to the withdrawal of the Whip from the Six who voted against German rearmament last Autumn.

It is significant that despite their often-expressed views on German rearmament, the Bevanites did not risk their position in a Party which, demonstrating the superiority of discipline over principle, had resolved not to vote on one of the major issues of post-war international relations. This fact, and Mr. Bevan's confused belief that Britain can have the tactical advantage of the H-bomb as a defensive weapon together with the moral and political advantage implicit in an undertaking not to be the first to use it, should be enough to discourage pacifists from looking to the Labour Left for support, even should that group attain a dominating position in the Party.

For me, as for many others, pacifism is closely linked with socialism. So long as the Labour Party can be thought of as a socialist and democratic party, therefore, it may seem inevitable that pacifists should seek to obtain wider agreement for their views through active membership in it.

But can the Labour Party be regarded as a democratic organisation?

"Peace abroad, and democracy at home," demands IVAN GEFEN, former Labour Candidate for Newcastle, North

Is there any likelihood that the existing leadership, dependent both for financial support and for the carrying of its views at the annual conference on the block votes of the large trade unions, will permit any significant minority to grow to the point at which policies must be changed?

Is there any likelihood that those unions' leaders, many of whom never have to seek re-election and have ways of their own of manipulating or ignoring the views of their own rank and file, will relax their hold on the machinery of power which the Labour Party represents?

The most significant facts in this context are, I think, the sudden decision of the two General Workers' Unions earlier this year to increase by 400,000—without consulting their members—the size of their vote at the Labour Party's annual conference, the withdrawal of the Whip from and threatened expulsion of Mr. Bevan for taking the same line in the debate on the Defence White Paper as the Party's leaders now take officially, and the terms (inevitable, if one accepts the constitution of the Party and standing orders of the Parliamentary Labour Party) which the Six had to accept before the Whip was restored to them.

It may be argued that at least the rank and file have the right, in their constituency parties, to select their candidates for Parliament. If this is the case, then they can vary the composition (and so, indirectly, the leadership) of the Parliamentary Party, even if they cannot much influence Conference decisions, the composition of the National Executive Committee or Party policy generally.

The revelation that even this right does not exist—as was evidenced by the enforced re-adoption of Mrs. Braddock by a constituency party which had plainly declared its lack of confidence in her—destroys the last tenuous thread supporting the party's claim to be democratic.

Not merely have pacifists and others been refused endorsement by the National Executive Committee after constituency parties have selected them to fill vacant candidacies; a party has now had thrust upon it a candidate whose return to Parliament was not desired by a majority of those made responsible for ensuring it.

The Labour Party's achievements have been considerable. Its very existence has been a major factor in making for more tolerable conditions during the past 50 years. Its future, however, I see as one of increasing hardening of the arteries as power is transmitted less and less from the centre to the periphery.

One does not come to such a conclusion either easily or happily after growing up, as I have done, in the Labour movement. Having

reached it, however, what do we do? Surely in a political democracy the answer must be that we take every opportunity that arises of persuading our fellow citizens of the correctness of our own viewpoint and analysis of the situation, and provide them whenever possible with the chance to indicate through the medium of the ballot box the extent to which we have gained their support?

It is true that while we remain a small minority, every independent candidate whom we support may appear, by detaching support from the Labour Party's nominees, merely to achieve the election of Conservatives—with whom we are not generally likely to have much sympathy. We will certainly be attacked on these grounds, as minorities are always attacked—especially until they are well established—by mass movements whose first concern is to "keep the other fellow out."

Mankind is confronted with a peril so great that we are normally bound to face the electors with the facts as we see them.

Few people, I imagine, will doubt that the threatened use, by this country or any other, of the H-bomb and similar weapons raises issues that are deeper and more far-reaching than those which have in the past led pacifists to take their stand on conscience as individuals.

Even before war starts, the atmosphere is increasingly polluted, month by month, by "our side's" experiments with destruction. If and when the diplomats get to work, there will always be the danger that "realists" on either side of the Iron Curtain may seize upon an outbreak of violence in one part of the world or another as a chance to "jump the gun" on their adversaries. As British citizens, therefore, we are committed to urge upon our fellows the need for immediate and if necessary unilateral disarmament, starting—where our critics would generally prefer to end—with the most terrible weapons of all.

All the other parties accept the policy of peace through fear. Pacifists who become Labour Members of the next Parliament may not even vote against this policy. All they may do is to abstain from supporting it!

Our first task is to bring together so far as possible the groups and individuals who have been active during the General Election campaign, whether as pacifists or as opponents of British use of the H-bomb. Next, we must endeavour to raise the funds to sponsor candidates at by-elections.

The Press can more or less ignore us, and does, during a General Election. By-elections provide opportunities to gain far more publicity, and the cost of fighting each one can more easily be found by supporters throughout the country than when many claims are being made on their resources. I believe that the time has now come to establish an organisation for this purpose, though I hope that unlike those of the other parties it will help pacifists and those who hold similar views to work together, and will avoid the trap of attempting to lay down what they should say or do.



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RON HUZ refused to serve in the Defence Force. He was subsequently imprisoned. Pacifists in Yates have been a long time in all. But then that a Party card vote at Unions for its pacifist policy. Both Ron and I know this is the days of a decline in party.

Emrys Huja longer young political scene place in the 1 will they have. The root of believe that p element when separate part programme cover and I am ha real beginning ment, with w associated, is but the found help of all pa tion and mor factor in their future.

The cause of it all pacifist the new party strength from big party ma Loverseed and stand in the C will not vote dents. But had then, how mu been in demo Gallup Poll.

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General S 14 Parkgate London, S

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RON HUZ

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LIVERPOOL Air Meeting. Liv Board.

RON HUZARD states that 61 Labour MPs refused to vote for the H-bomb in the Defence Debate, but surely all but six of them were subsequently made to toe the Party line? Pacifists like Emrys Hughes and Victor Yates have been tolerated inside the Party for a long time and their views are respected by all. But there is absolutely no chance at all that a Party dominated by the Trade Union card vote and dependent upon the Trade Unions for its election funds will ever adopt a pacifist policy.

Both Ron Huzzard and Denis Brian must know this and they must realise that, since the days of George Lansbury, pacifism has been a declining force within the Labour Party.

Emrys Hughes and Victor Yates are no longer young men. When they pass from the political scene, who is there to take their place in the Labour Party and what influence will they have on the party policy?

The root of the matter is that many of us believe that pacifism will only be an effective element when it is carried into politics as a separate party with a comprehensive programme covering all aspects of everyday life, and I am happy to say that, at long last, a real beginning has been made. The new movement, with which I have the honour to be associated, is not just another little movement, but the foundation stone of what can, with the help of all pacifists whose pacifism and Christian and moral principles are the dominating factor in their lives, be the government of the future.

The cause of pacifism will be better served if all pacifists and near-pacifists combine in the new party rather than exert their failing strength from within against the all-powerful big party machines. One thing which John Loverseed and I learned as a result of our stand in the General Election was that people will not vote in large numbers for Independents. But had our new party been in existence then, how much bigger the results might have been is demonstrated by the News Chronicle Gallup Poll. People will vote for a party with a comprehensive policy such as we are now drawing up. The lesson has been learned and it is not yet too late if we all pull together.

Peace News has been attacked by your two correspondents for giving its main support to Sir Richard Acland at Gravesend, but it must be remembered that this support was given before the General Election when Sir Richard's courageous action had captured the popular emotion. It was hardly to be expected that this support would be withdrawn when the General Election was sprung upon us. Naturally, too, Peace News gave what support it could to the late entrants John Loverseed and myself.

May I extend a cordial invitation to Ron Huzzard and Denis Brian to join our new political movement and to help to make it the political force it should, could and will be.

ERIC FENNER,

General Secretary of the new movement.

14 Parkgate Rd.,
London, S.W.11.

Swamped by a constitution

RON HUZARD praises 61 Labour MPs who did *Not* vote against the H-bomb, yet attacks the one Labour MP with the courage to obey his conscience and resign. Labour preferred to give Gravesend to the Tories rather than let a rebel of principle be returned as the MP representing the public hatred of the H-bomb.

Mr. Brian ignores the fact that Yates, Hughes, Craddock and other good Labour men are swamped by the very constitution of a Party which is dominated by Trade Union power, and which drove the greatest Labour

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select notices for publication. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

ABBREVIATIONS: Anglican Pacifist Fellowship; A.P.F.; Fellowship of Reconciliation; F.O.R.; Peace Pledge Union; P.P.U.; Society of Friends; S.O.F.; Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; W.I.L.F.F.

Sundays, July 3

LEYTONSTONE: 3 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho. Bush Rd. Annual Garden Mtg. Sybil Morrison, "Pacifism and Party Politics." Tea 5 p.m. Short concert during evening. P.P.U.

LONDON, W.1: 3.30 p.m.; King's Weigh Ho. Church, Binney St. (Nr. Bond St. Stn.) Pacifist Universalist Service. Discourse by Dr. Beiden, "Christianity as the Final Religion." P.P.U. Religion Commission.

MANCHESTER: 3 p.m. 7 p.m.; Platt Fields. Open-air Mtg. P.P.U.

Every week!

SUNDAYS

HYDE PARK: 3 p.m.; Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Sunday. PYAG.

GLASGOW: Open-air mtg. Queen's Park Gates, Victoria Rd. 7.45 p.m. Campbell Wilkie and Keith Bovey. Glasgow P.P.U.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Bliz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

THURSDAYS

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho. Bush Road, E.10 and E.11 Group P.P.U.

LONDON, W.C.1: 1.15-1.45 p.m.; Weekly of St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Church lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by clergy and laymen of different denominations.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Shepherd Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

FRIDAY

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SATURDAYS

LIVERPOOL: 7.30 p.m.; Pier Head, Open Air Meeting. Liverpool and District Peace Board.

LETTERS

pacifist from leadership to replace him by Major Attlee.

AUDREY ELLIS.

Coventry.

Labour Party and pacifists

MESSRS. Huzzard and Brian's allegations about Peace News are unfair.

I have read PN from the first issue, and began selling it and reporting and writing (free) for it 19 years ago. During that period, at the beginning of which many of us worked for Labour, it has reported all pacifists' activities (including Labour ones); but though that fine Labour MP Emrys Hughes contributes, it has never been a Labour propaganda journal. Why then expect it not to report candidates such as John Loverseed and Eric Fenner who put pacifism and loyalty to conscience first?

Having for years admired Jimmie Hudson, I was shocked when he said he'd been forced to vote against his conscience in the Commons. Could he not have resigned as Acland did, instead of putting loyalty to Party before loyalty to conscience? I also had the misfortune to hear him heckled at a pacifist meeting in Friends' House when he was lauding Attlee for his "peace speeches"—yes, the same Attlee who introduced peace-time conscription, who started the manufacture of British atom bombs, who invited the US Air Force to establish bombing bases here. Nevertheless, I'd have supported Hudson if he were prepared to preach pacifism in Ealing; but since John Loverseed stood as a Christian pacifist candidate, I as a Christian pacifist worked for him and preached Christian pacifism in Lewisham.

Will pacifists who remain in the Labour Party tell us (1) how they can persuade all personal pacifists who are MPs to vote pacifist; (2) how they will overcome the block vote of the Trade Unions which has supported re-arming the Nazis, teaching our boys to kill and generally smothering the will of the constituency parties; and (3) how they expect to do what Lansbury, Ponsonby, Salter and Hardie failed to do—convert Labour to pacifism?

Meantime, can't those who want political action go on with it in the direction to which they feel called: Brian and Huzzard in the Labour Party, Loverseed and Fenner in their new Political Pacifist Crusade, and other pacifists in the Christian Party, or the ILP, instead of expecting all to embrace Labour and expecting PN to report only one viewpoint?

RONALD S. MALLONE,

Editor, "Un-Common Sense."

141 Woolacombe Rd.,

S.E.2.

Pacifists and Parties

RON HUZARD and Denis Brian are men with fine records of the practical application of pacifism to the hard world of politics. This is essential if pacifism is to be anything more than an ineffectual ideal. Someone has to come down out of the ivory tower and get to work. To the extent that the Ron Huzzards and Denis Brians of this world have done that in the Labour Party in the past they deserve our lasting gratitude.

This good work makes it all the more unfortunate that they (like so many of our pacifist friends) are unable to see that the Labour Party is no longer an instrument, no matter how tiresome and unwieldy, for furthering the

cause of pacifism and liberation. By virtue of the totalitarian techniques which it has adopted, and the authoritarian mentality of its leaders, it has now become an instrument for stifling the very radical and revolutionary sentiments which gave it birth.

The tremendous opposition to German rearmament which manifested itself in Britain would have prevented any British Government from endorsing such a delicate decision if the Labour Party had not been relied on to smother and render quite nugatory that opposition, which it did by a device thoroughly unworthy of any professedly democratic organisation.

The opposition to the H-bomb, instead of being expressed by the Labour Party, was destroyed by it. Thus, by remaining within the Party and accepting its discipline, those who profess anti-war views are, in my opinion, serving only to allow those views to be nullified by a machine which shows itself daily more successful in just that operation.

It is true what our LPF friends say, that it is also futile to contest British elections as independent candidates—the electorate demands some weightier endorsement and some brighter promise of effectiveness in Parliament for its choice. This means a party. But *not* the Labour Party. There was a day when it served progressive purposes. That day is done. History moves on and there is need for a change. A new party must be born, a Radical Party that will serve the cause that all readers of Peace News have at heart. There may even be one in time for the next election.

TOM WARDLE.

London, N.4.

Use the by-elections

ALBERT LEAPER is confusing two issues. That the Peace Pledge Union cannot agree upon a pacifist political policy has nothing whatever to do with the fact that pacifists who stood as candidates outside the Labour Party did so as Independents, and not as pacifists. They chose to do so because, as two of them told me personally, they believed the word "pacifist" to be impolitic!

I am, in fact, interested in the proposals for contesting by-elections, and the next General Election. If there is sufficient money forthcoming to exploit by-elections for the purpose of pacifist propaganda, and it is thought to be worth the amount of money needed, and the time and energy expended, then it seems to me, on that basis, a perfectly practical proposition.

But it is, however, an entirely different matter if the object is to get pacifist candidates into Parliament. It is not only useless, but wrong, to attempt to gate-crash the House of Commons; getting there means slogging hard work, and requires special qualifications, and great patience. This is almost impossible in a by-election, there being little warning, and scarcely any time for nursing the constituency, or getting to know your constituents.

It seems to me, that if pacifists really mean to get into Parliament they must choose one or two constituencies, decide upon the best possible candidate, and then put up the money for the candidate to work hard in the constituency.

Moreover, the candidate must have a full social, economic and foreign policy to put to his constituents, who must be educated to understand it, and persuaded to vote for it. This may mean years of work. Either it is

worth it, or it isn't but we should not deceive ourselves that the electorate are ready for conversion to pacifism!

SYBIL MORRISON.

17 St. Leonard's Terrace,
S.W.3.

The rail strike

HAVING read Mr. Berrow's letter of last week, I feel I must put pen to paper to thank PN for its level-headed approach to the rail strike question.

I would remind reader Berrow that in the time of my own grandparents, railway shares were recommended as the ideal medium for the small investor. For many old folk still living, the meagre dividend from these is their only supplement to the State Pension. Is he suggesting cutting this to augment the wages of able-bodied persons, who usually have at least the opportunity to work harder (or longer hours) if they are in financial difficulty?

The day may not be far distant, I feel, when a new form of contract will be made applicable to workers in nationalised industries, whereby they must agree (as a condition of employment) to abide by the decision of an Arbitration Tribunal on the wages question, or leave the industry.

Mr. Barrow blithely ignores the disastrous inflationary effect of the constant increases in Transport charges caused by the wage increments he advocates.

R. NORRIS PAGE.

"Rhinegold," Wise Lane, N.W.7.

Compensation—or theft?

ARBITRARILY to take the rightful property of an individual or a group of individuals without paying its full market value—or more—as compensation, is theft.

If railwaymen do, in fact—as Ted Berrow suggested (PN June 17) "look to the millions being paid in compensation to the former shareholders" as a source from which wage increases could come, they are harbouring a desire to steal. If their motor cycles had been "nationalised" without compensation during the recent rail strike, they would have seen this very clearly, and no doubt would have been eloquently forthright in their denunciation of such immoral action.

P. R. STUBBINGS.

388 Finchley Rd., N.W.2.

RELIGIOUS NEWS AND VIEWS

★ FROM PAGE TWO

To quote Dr. Nevile Davidson of Glasgow Cathedral, "We could not expect to be allowed to continue indefinitely in a condition of moral neutrality."

Yet these comments from Britain, America and Russia go to show that in spite of statements about the incompatibility of Christianity and war, the organised Christian Churches still hesitate to proclaim the renunciation of war under all circumstances.

Christians here and in America where, though there may be some fear of political discrimination, they are free to proclaim the fullness of their Gospel, should feel the greater sense of shame because they are not prepared to recognise that the only point at which all Christians can together meet their Master is at the Cross in a readiness to share His abandonment of the way of violence and to press the way of Love to its final conclusion regardless of what happens *en route*.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

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DISPLAYED ADVERTISEMENTS are required by the Thursday eight days prior to publication.

WHEN REPLYING to advertisements please mention PEACE NEWS

MEETINGS

HUGH SCHONFIELD (Commonwealth of World Citizens) will be the speaker at Sixth Birthday Reception of Caravan of England, Kingsley Hotel, Bloomsbury Way, W.C.1, July 10, 3 p.m. to 7 p.m. Details, 14 Lamba Close, London, N.9.

INTERNATIONAL CLUB, Bath, Tuesdays, 7.30. Literary Institute, 18 Queen Sq. All welcome.

KING'S WEIGH HOUSE Church, Duke St., nr. Bond St. Tube. "The Word and the Woman." Sunday at 11 a.m. Rev. Elsie Chamberlain, B.D. (Dept. of Religion, BBC).

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THE BAPTIST PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP invites your support. For details of membership write: Rev. Leslie Worship, 63 Loughborough Rd., Quorn, Leicestershire.

WAR RESISTERS' International welcomes gifts of foreign stamps and undamaged air mail covers. Please send to WRI, Lansbury House, 88 Park Ave., Bush Hill Park, Enfield.

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EVERY WEDNESDAY EVENING there is work for willing hands to do in the despatching of Peace News. Will you join our team of voluntary helpers? 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4 (above stationers, Fish & Cook). Nearest Tube Stn., Finsbury Park.

The engagement of persons answering these advertisements must be made through a local office of the Ministry of Labour or a scheduled employment agency if the applicant is a male aged 18 to 64 or a woman aged 18 to 59 inclusive unless he or she, or the employer, is exempted from the provisions of the Notification of Vacancies Order, 1952.

FRIENDS PEACE COMMITTEE requires office worker. Shorthand and typewriting desirable. Apply to The Secretary, Friends Peace Committee, Friends House, Euston Rd., N.W.1.

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CO awaiting preliminary prosecution seeks situation. Considerable experience clerical, committee, public speaking, public relations and political work. Box No. 647.

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THE FOUR POWER TALKS

American politics lives on the Cold War. President Eisenhower will need a great deal of support from American and world opinion to stand up to that lunatic fringe, which will bellow "Appeasement!" at the top of its voice.

What about Britain? If it is in anyone's interest to get rid of atom bombs, to see Europe neutralised, Chiang Kai-shek wound up by agreement, and the tension lowered, it is in ours. None of us would live to see who won another war.

This country does not belong on the side of the Communists. But neither does it belong on the side of Chiang and Mr. Dulles, the hydrogen bomb and inevitable war. It belongs, if anywhere, on the side of Mr. Nehru, of those who are trying to reduce tension, not exploit it, on the side of ordinary sanity, not of "massive retaliation" and the mental hospital.

This will not be another Yalta, with four "great men" meeting to carve up the world and chisel one another behind each other's backs. Fortunately there will be no "great men" at this conference.

But we must not let the little men come back empty-handed.

WATCH FOR DIVERSIONS

If trouble does arise, much will be said about Western unity. Unity is a good thing—if it is unity in pursuit of a sane policy. The Gadarene swine were "united" when they jumped over a cliff in pursuit of their stupidest and most frightened member. Mad allies are a luxury we can't afford.

Governments do not easily make either peace or concessions. Peoples do. We need not imagine that the Communist governments aren't under the same pressure—from a public which, like us, prefers butter to guns. If that public cannot say much, we can. We owe them a duty.

The madhouse party, for obvious reasons, do not want freedom in Eastern Europe—it would spoil their propaganda. They don't want to see Communism less savage or more reasonable than it was—it would spoil their war. If they can prevent "coexistence" they will.

LUNCH-HOUR MEETINGS

IN co-operation with the National Peace Council, the Vicar of St. Mary Woolnoth, Lombard Street, London, E.C.3, is arranging a series of lunch-hour discussions at the Church at 1.15 p.m. on Tuesdays in July, on the general theme "The Christian Conscience and the Cost of Peace."

The first of the four talks, on July 5, will be given by the Rev. Philip Eastman, Secretary of the Churches' Commission on International Affairs, who will speak on the "War on Want."

Dr. Peter Hodgson, Editor of the Journal of the Atomic Scientists Association, will speak on "The Hydrogen Bomb" (July 12), the Rev. Michael Scott on "Justice in Africa" (July 19), and Mrs. Nancy Lapwood, a former Missionary in China, on "The Challenge of China" (July 26).

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REPORT ON AMERICA

TOM WARDLE

recently returned from a lecture tour in the United States, will speak on his impressions.

TUESDAY, JULY 12 at 7.30 p.m.

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There may be "incidents" and diversions in the Press to confuse you when the talks open. The Indochina meetings were preceded by atrocities, spy stories, pistols in cigarette packets—the comic-book techniques of getting us rattled or angry.

We can watch for these, as a warning that "negotiation" is in prospect instead of negotiation. And don't let us be taken in by them. They will have been saved up or laid on specially, with us in mind.

Politicians may be sincere: they can never be trusted. You must be there at the Four Power Talks: as the force of public opinion demanding diplomacy, not bluffing, and genuine negotiation, not suicide pacts. "They" won't do this for you. But if we stand close enough at their elbow they will have to do it.

You forced the politicians to hold these talks. You can force them to succeed.

THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE

From Charles Marland

HELSINKI, Sunday.

THE pacifist case has certainly been heard at the World Peace Council's Assembly now in session here.

The conference is being run on much more businesslike lines than those held previously in Warsaw and Vienna, and although we have had long plenary sessions with a succession of set speeches, much more time is spent in commissions where there is real controversy and hard argument.

Altogether, there are seven commissions considering various aspects of world affairs, and on some of them at any rate the pacifist case for complete disarmament has been put. In the commission dealing more specifically with ways in which the peace forces can co-operate, pacifists are suggesting that the assembly should call on all governments to recognise the right of any citizen to refuse on grounds of conscience to bear arms or to take part in military service.

Observers like myself who in the past have been critical of the Communist influence in the World Peace Council must admit that the platform has been falling over backwards to encourage criticism.

The Rev. D. C. Candy, an observer from the Church Peace Mission, Toronto, for example, was expecting some hostility when he delivered a critical speech. Instead he was warmly applauded, and subsequent speakers went out of their way to welcome his criticism and to say that if his points had not been acted on before it was because those who thought like him had stayed away from previous conferences.

Equally forthright speeches came from Mrs. Phoebe Cusden, international vice-president of the Women's International League, who is here as delegate from the Reading Peace Council and from Bertrand Russell who sent his speech to the British Peace Committee with a message regretting he could not attend the conference.

The delegations here from India and Japan are truly remarkable. They are predominantly non-Communist and undoubtedly represent almost every section of opinion in those countries. This conference has shown me in a very vivid way the reality of the changes in Asia. Communism is not an issue there as it is to us in the West, as is shown in that remarkable declaration on co-existence of Premier Nehru and Chou En-lai. Asia is demanding peace and rehabilitation, not ideologies, and the West ignores this new Asiatic unity at its peril. It was noticeable that the Japanese always speak with real friendship in their references to the leaders of China. That and the links forged with India mean that the once publicly declared American policy of "letting Asians fight Asians" is dead.

On the more complicated problems of Europe, I must stress the conciliatory approach by the Soviet speakers, but it must be understood that all the Eastern group regard the rearmament of West Germany and its inclusion in NATO as a deadly threat pointed at their hearts.

Delegate Conference on Kenya

THE Kenya war, in which 600,000 people, more than a tenth of the population, have been moved from their homes, has seen 861 people judicially hanged, and has put 87,000 men, women and children into detention.

At the end of it all, to quote the Times, "the population, though obviously tiring of Mau Mau methods, remains basically in sympathy with its aims."

The time is over-ripe for a new policy, and on July 10, delegates and visitors to the Movement for Colonial Freedom Conference, at Denison Hall, Vauxhall Bridge Rd., S.W.1, will have the opportunity to hear Joseph Murumbi (former Secretary, Kenya African Union) and Fenner Brockway, MP, speaking on "The Next Step in Kenya."

The Conference begins at 2 p.m. Tickets (1s. 6d. for either delegates or visitors) are available from H. Garside, 134 Tachbrook St., S.W.1.

Dr. Soper for Manchester Rally

Dr. Donald Soper, Minnie Pallister, and the Rev. Kenneth Greet will be the speakers at the big Methodist Peace Rally to be held in Manchester's Central Hall on Monday, July 11 at 7.45 pm in connection with the Methodist Conference.

The Rev. Donald D. Redman will be in the Chair. The Methodist Peace Fellowship are organising the meeting.

Religious News and Views—p. 3

'Who is my neighbour?'

But he, willing to justify himself, said unto Jesus, And who is my neighbour? —St. Luke, X. 29.

SINCE my article "God and Your Neighbour," June 17, I have had two letters calling my attention to the fact that the most difficult question put to the conscientious objector who bases his objection upon the two commandments to "Love the Lord thy God" and "Love thy neighbour as thyself," is: "Were not the men and women of Belsen our neighbours and was it not right, therefore, to go to war to save them?"

This question is, of course, dishonest, because in fact this country did not go to war to save the inmates of German concentration camps. They had been in existence since 1933 when Hitler came to power, and it has been conveniently forgotten, public memory being so short, that the White Paper on the conditions in those camps was not published in this country until after the war had begun.

It has also been conveniently forgotten that the first step Hitler took against the Jews was to exile them. They were ordered to leave the country, but the British Government did not play the part of the Good Samaritan,

which is the example given by Jesus of good neighbourliness; on the contrary, it refused to open its doors to Jewish refugees from Germany, and they could only come here as individual "Good Samaritans" would take full responsibility for their maintenance plus full education for the children up to eighteen years. Naturally there were only a few either able or willing to undertake so onerous a burden.

It is extremely unfair and unjust to ask the applicants at Tribunals for conscientious objectors questions based upon a false premise. Conscript today is for the purpose, so we are told, of defending ourselves against Communism. The question, therefore, ought to be: "Would you leave people rotting in Siberian labour camps when a war might save them?" The applicant might well answer that he could not be sure that a war would save them, even if the British Government had decided to make war against Russia for this reason, and that he believes it to be both futile and wrong to attempt to save them by massacring millions of innocent people.

And that is the real answer about Belsen. First of all that we did not go to war to prevent it, or to save its inmates, and if we had, and had been defeated they would not have been saved, for to rely upon the arbitrariness of force to right a wrong has the element of failure in its very constitution.

That the men and women of Belsen were our neighbours in the Gospel's sense, is true but to succour them by slaughtering and mutilating tens of thousands of other "neighbours," makes nonsense of the Christian precepts.

There is no part of the Gospel taught by Jesus which advocates that violence and cruelty are to be met by violence and cruelty nor that some are our neighbours while others are not, leaving it for the individual to decide according to it is to be assumed, his own particular bias.

It was made very clear that the second commandment, "Love thy neighbour as thyself," was "like unto the first" (my italics). The inmates of Belsen or of Borsdal, of the Reichstag or the Kremlin, of the condemned cell or the Judge's bench are all our neighbours according to the two commandments on which "hang all the law and the prophets."

If we had ever endeavoured to behave towards others as we would like them to behave towards us, there would never have been a Belsen and society might not breed criminals.

If Governments had followed the "love thy neighbour" teaching there would never have been a Hitler, and there would not be wars. To pretend that we have waged wars out of love for our neighbours is false in every way, and it is hard to credit that the members of the Tribunal really believe this.

The Christian ethic is not one of the planks of Government foreign policy, but perhaps a time will come when it is in fact accepted as a basis for international relationships. It is at least a beginning, if it only starts in the heart of one young man who is prepared to take his stand against war because he accepts the two great commandments.

ATOMIC ENERGY IS HERE TO STAY: ARE WE?—Dr. Soper

"THE world properly organised could sustain the needs and satisfy the demands of four times as many people as those who now live on its surface," said the Rev. Donald Soper, ex-President of the Methodist Conference at Purley, Surrey, recently.

He was speaking at a meeting entitled "War and the Christian" organised by the Society of Friends and the Fellowship of Reconciliation, at Purley Congregational Church. The meeting should have been held in the Hall, but the attendance was so large that it had to be transferred to the Church.

"You must either give away food or shells. If food cannot cross frontiers, then arms will," said Dr. Soper.

"The same charges could have been made by the Germans against us, as those made by us at Nuremberg against them."

"I am sick to death of all the rubbish that is talked about the Russians, as if they were all inveterate scoundrels." He pointed out that they had not wanted to go into India the day it disarmed. It was no longer possible to frighten people into peace, he maintained.

Already two atomic clouds had passed over this country, similar clouds had passed over Japan, and there had been a fall out of radio active dust. This dust might contaminate the race for 300 generations.

Atomic energy was here to stay—the question was, were we?

Pacifist political movement growing

FROM A CORRESPONDENT

THE new movement founded by the supporters of the two independent pacifist candidates at the General Election, Eric Fenner and John Loverseed (PN, June 17), is now taking further steps to develop its organisation.

One of the first tasks has been to decide upon a name. Six have been short-listed by the Executive Committee and a ballot paper has been circulated to sympathisers. The names suggested are: The Fellowship Party; Christian Pacifist Party; Pacifist Action; The Lamp; Independents for Westminster; and the United Christian Party.

If sufficient funds are available, it is hoped to open an office at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St., London W.C.1. The nuclei of branches exist in various parts of London, Eastbourne, Gravesend, Hull and Bedford, and it is hoped to establish them soon. Membership will be of two kinds (a) Full members (b) Associate members, who cannot accept the total programme. The entry subscription is 2s. 6d. plus 6d. per month for full members and 3d. for associates.

A statement of the Objects and Principles of the movement has been agreed and work has begun on a draft constitution to be submitted to the first Annual Conference next spring.

The Objects and Principles include constitutional political action for a system of government that will express Christian and moral values; the renunciation of war; relief of world hunger; condemnation of war by religious bodies; subordination of pomp and tradition in national life and the personal renunciation of the taking of human life.

Copies of this Statement and further details about the movement's activities can be obtained from the General Secretary, Eric Fenner, at 14 Parkgate Rd., London, S.W.11, to whom donations may also be sent.

Nearly sixty people attended a meeting called by Rev. A. D. Bailey at Bellingham (in the South Lewisham constituency) recently to discuss continuing activity following on the election campaign for John Loverseed.

John Loverseed spoke about the formation of the new pacifist political movement and there was a good measure of support expressed.

The group decided to meet at quarterly intervals, and the next meeting was fixed for Sunday, October 16 from 4 to 6 p.m. when a speaker will attend. Tentative plans include a concentrated showing of the film, "Children of Hiroshima" at local church halls in the autumn, followed by a public meeting on the H-bomb.

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